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Fort Ticonderoga in History



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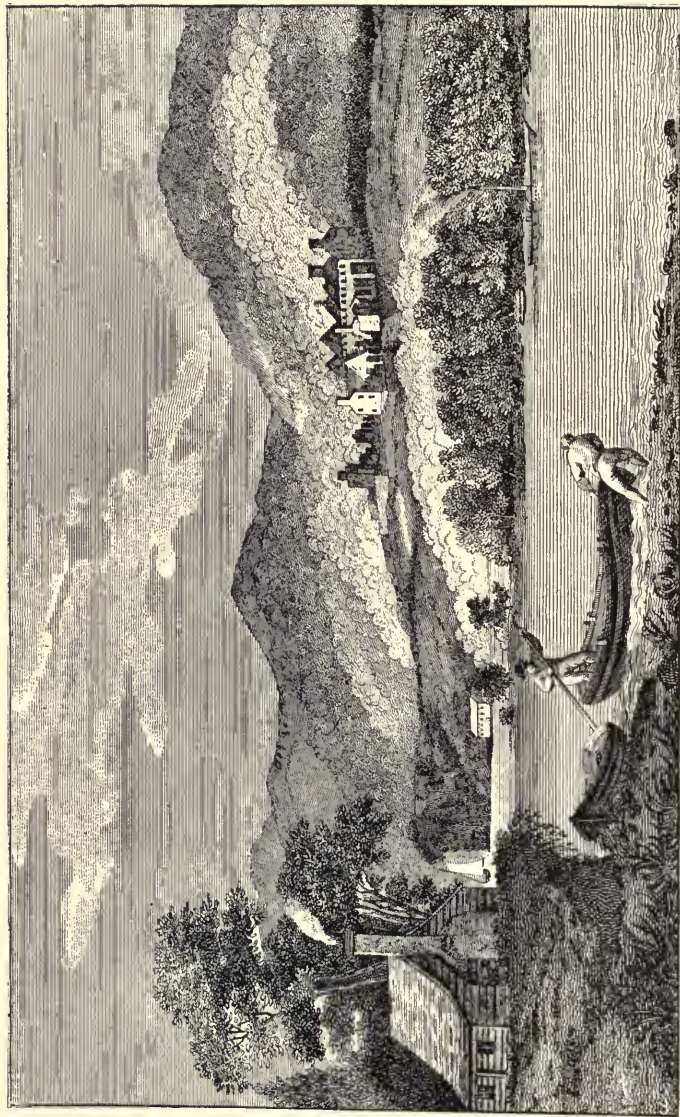
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FORT TICONDEROGA IN HISTORY

BY
HELEN IVES GILCHRIST, M.A.







THE RUINS OF TICONDEROGA, 1820

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CHAPTER I

CHAMPLAIN AND THE IROQUOIS

THE history of Lake Champlain and of Ticonderoga is Indian French, English and most of all, American history.

Old wars are often the beginnings of friendships when they are fairly fought. France and England of the eighteenth century had the same taste in land, the same appetite for exploring and settling, and finally the same trade interests to bring about a conflict. It was the French who came first into the region of the lakes. They had held successfully their colonies along the St. Lawrence, had made friends with the Indians thereabouts, and under the influence of that splendid adventurer, the Sieur de Champlain, became interested in pushing farther down from Quebec into that region of lakes and rivers which was then, simply the upper extremity of the territory of the Iroquois.

It was in 1608 that Champlain came again to America. He had, from the king of France, a commission requiring him to explore, and to found a settlement. He spent the long winter at Quebec, learning, adapting himself to the ways of the woods, and making friends with the Algonquin Indians who trooped to the white men's town partly through idle curiosity, and partly as one makes a pilgrimage to something strange and marvellous.

In the spring of 1609, the Indians asked for a practical test of the wonders they had seen and of the friendship the Frenchmen expressed for them. The white men shot with the arquebus, a matchlock or flintlock gun, and the effect of it was all that any Indian could desire for his enemies. With the firers of guns as allies, the Montagnais, a tribe of the Algonquins, felt that they could forever cow their old and formidable enemies, the Iroquois, who held the land to the south of them. The Hurons who were

their friends, had some slight connection racially with the Iroquois, but on the whole were a tribe outside, and though friendly to the Montagnais, not totally to be relied upon as allies in war.

The proposal that he go on the war path with the Montagnais was not displeasing to the Sieur de Champlain. With them he could penetrate farther into the woods than he could without them. He loved the dangers of exploring, and he had always in mind that he was advancing France in the New World and winning to her sway and her religion, these red children. His journal shows the genuineness of his amused affection for them, a factor which was a large part of the very real hold he had upon them.

It was in May of 1609 that he started out from Quebec on this new venture. He took eleven Frenchmen with him besides the small contingent of Montagnais and between two and three hundred Hurons. They passed Three Rivers, crossed Lake St. Peter and went on up the River Richelieu (since variously named the St. John, the Rivere des Iroquois, the Chambly, the St. Louis, and the Sorel). The rapids of the Richelieu halted the expedition and Champlain had occasion to rebuke his Indian friends for having assured him that there was a clear water way to the head of Lake Champlain. At the rapids, three-fourths of the Indians seceded from the adventure, and Champlain, still eager to go forward, was unwilling to risk his French companions in so uncertain an enterprise. For himself he seems never to have held any fear, either of Indians or of natural disasters in the woods or on stormy waters. He always wanted to see what came next.

So he sent back all but two of his white followers, and, after a portage around the rapids, proceeded. The force now numbered but sixty Indians, and the fleet that carried them consisted of twenty-four canoes. By day they paddled, but now, coming near the Iroquois country, they encamped at night with some barricade against attack though the Indians would set no watch. They advanced thus up Lake Champlain. They had not expected to stop there, but to go on down to the lower Iroquois region, when suddenly, in the words of Champlain's journal,



SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN

"As we were going along very quietly, and without making any noise, on the twenty-ninth of the month, we met the Iroquois at ten o'clock at night on the end of a cape that projects into the lake on the west side, and they were coming to war."

What this cape, now famous as the promontory of Ticonderoga was called then, the *Sieur de Champlain* does not say. Its natural advantages as a place of battle had drawn the Iroquois to it, and it may be that they had already named it *Cheondaraga* or *Ticonderoga* which in their tongue signified "Between two lakes."

As soon as the two bands came in sight of one another, the Iroquois drew up their canoes which were lighter and smaller than those of the *Montagnais* and *Hurons*, while *Champlain's* warriors paddled out a bow shot from the land and prepared to spend the night there. They fastened all but two of the canoes to poles which held them together in one mass and steadied them. The two canoes left out of this formation were paddled ashore, and the Iroquois were asked that old question, "Do you want to fight?"

The Iroquois replied that they desired nothing else, says *Champlain* gravely, but that there was only a little light, and they must wait for day if they were to tell friend from foe. As soon as the sun rose they would fight.

All that night, the *Montagnais* in their boats and the Iroquois on shore hurled insults back and forth. "Men of little courage," the Iroquois called their foes from the north, feeble, "unfit to fight the warriors of the southern lakes and rivers." The three Frenchmen being the *Montagnais's* latest war invention, their surprise to spring on the enemy in battle next day, were kept concealed through the night, the exultant Indians only replying to Iroquois yells that they should soon see "such power of arms as never before."

Next morning, the three Frenchmen put on their armor in the canoes and were paddled ashore, still unseen of the enemy. Then the Iroquois came out of their barricade, two hundred strong, an impressive company of tall, sturdy warriors with a

dignity and assurance which pleased the veteran of European wars much. At their head were three chiefs wearing the distinguishing feathers in their head dress. The Montagnais pointed out these leaders to Champlain and assured him that the three must be killed by his arquebus. He assured the Montagnais that he would do his best. Then the rest of the fleet came to land, and the Montagnais ran towards the Iroquois, stopping about two hundred paces from them. Both sides stood firm, and then the invaders began to call for their champion, Champlain. They drew apart in two columns between which Champlain advanced, and then, twenty paces in advance of them, he led the Montagnais until he was within thirty paces of the astonished Iroquois. Despite their small number, the Montagnais were confident that Champlain and his arquebus would make up the difference of one hundred forty in numbers. Then there were the other two Frenchmen who had slipped unseen into the woods and were moving around to the flank of the foe. Champlain waited until he saw the Iroquois about to raise their bows to shoot. Then,

“I rested my arquebus against my cheek and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot two of them fell to the ground, and one of their companions, who was wounded and afterwards died. I put four balls into my arquebus. When our men saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to make cries so loud that one could not have heard it thunder.”

The Iroquois were astounded, but they stood their ground and discharged their arrows until one of the Frenchmen hidden in the forest, fired and claimed another of their men. Then they fled to the woods with the Montagnais in pursuit. The Iroquois succeeded in carrying off most of their wounded, but some ten or twelve warriors were captured and brought in by the allies for torture and death. Champlain had no love for that side of the Indian character and when his Algonquins saw him turn away in disgust from the sight of their ingenious infliction of pain, they finally consented to let him end one wretch's suffering by a ball from his arquebus.



PETER SCHUYLER
First Mayor of Albany



MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL

Champlain made several more visits to New France and came down through the lake country on expeditions with the Huron, but never again was a stand made against him at Ticonderoga. The Iroquois never forgave him nor the French whom he represented. Their reputation in war had been seriously damaged, and they valued their prestige. More than a century later, they cast in their lot with the English against the French who had humbled them.

Champlain attacked the Seneca Iroquois later, near Lake Canandagua, and there he was wounded and carried back to Canada on the back of an Indian warrior. He did not much like the impromptu ambulance service and has briefly recorded his impression that it was "Hell."

His last years went to the hard and somewhat uncongenial work of managing the barely held colony of Quebec, busying himself with the problems of famine, trouble with the English, Indian disputes and colony squabbles. At last, at the age of sixty-eight, he was stricken with paralysis, and on Christmas day of the year 1635, he died in the colony which had leaned so heavily upon him for help and guidance.

Parkman's tribute to him may well close the account of the life of this, the greatest adventurer and truest knight errant of the many France sent into the American wilderness:

"His dauntless courage was matched by an unwearied patience, a patience proved by life-long vexations. He is charged with credulity, from which few of his age were free, and which in all ages has been the foible of earnest and generous natures, too ardent to criticise, and too honorable to doubt the honor of others. . . . A soldier from his youth, in an age of unbridled license, his life had answered to his maxims; and when a generation had passed after his visit to the Hurons, their elders remembered with astonishment the continence of the great French war-chief.

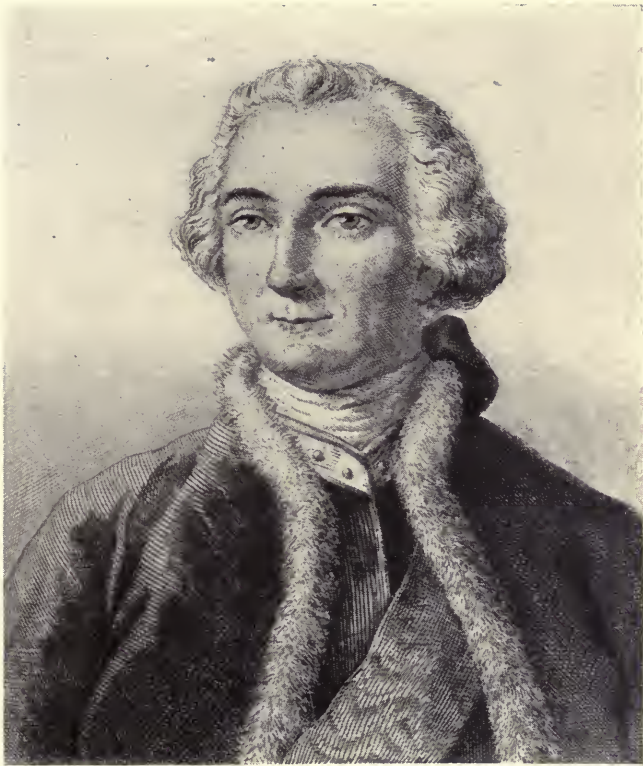
"His books mark the man,—all for his theme and his purpose, nothing for himself. Crude in style, full of the superficial errors of carelessness and haste, rarely diffuse, often brief to a fault, they bear on every page the palpable impress of truth."

CHAPTER II

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR TO 1758

FORT VAUDREUIL, the predecessor and forerunner of the present fort on the heights of Ticonderoga, was begun in 1755, but the reason for erecting it goes back some twenty earlier. The English settlements in lower New York and the French hold on the northern region merged in a debatable country along Lake Champlain and Lake George, and as the wars between France and England, carried on in Europe, increased in intensity and ill will, some feeling of friction naturally developed at the overlapping lines of both countries' holdings in America. In the year 1731, the French seized a promontory opposite Crown Point, and then, crossing over, possessed themselves of the heights on the west shore also. By virtue of the Peace of Utrecht, the English felt that this section belonged to the domains of the Iroquois and that it was, therefore, under the protectorate of England.

Meanwhile, the French cleared much of the land lying between Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and there was some trade intercourse between the French and English colonies. Now when the French had erected a formidable fortress on the point of land which they had seized, the English colonists began to fear French aggression, and they invoked the aid of their home government. It was not until 1755 that the British made a decided demand that the French destroy their stronghold, and then, instead of yielding to that demand, the French proceeded twenty miles farther south and began the erection of Fort Vaudreuil on the promontory of Ticonderoga. This post, Watson says in his "Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley," "destined to a terrible celebrity, became the most extensive and magnificent fortress in America."



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM



DUC DE LÉVIS

This first of the forts on Ticonderoga was not the well-built structure which was ready to face attack three years later. The fort, as Lotbiniere designed it, was square, with four bastions of earth and timber, but his plans seem to have grown with the unavoidable realization which the next few years brought forth, that Ticonderoga was the key to invasion of New York by the French or of Canada by the English, and we find several mentions of the strengthening of the works between 1755 and 1758:

Major Robert Rogers, leader of the famous rangers, records in his journal that on a reconnoitering expedition from the English camp on Lake George, he proceeded to a point of land on the west side of the lake and marched to the point of Ticonderoga where he and his companions observed a body of men, which they judged to be about 2000 in number, "who had thrown up an intrenchment, and prepared large quantities of hewn timber in the adjacent woods. We remained here the second night," he adds, "and next morning (October 9, 1755) saw them lay the foundation of a fort on that point which commands the pass from Lake George to Lake Champlain." From this time until the fort fell into English hands, it seems to have been the duty of Roberts with his rangers to patrol this region and keep the British posted as to the strength of the garrison at Carillon. On September 9, 1756, he says,

"I was within a mile of Ticonderoga fort where I endeavored to reconnoitre the enemy's works and strength. They were engaged in raising the walls of the fort and erected a large blockhouse near the southeast corner of the fort with ports in it for cannon. East from the blockhouse was a battery which I imagined commanded the lake."

He also reports the French to be building a sawmill at the lower end of the falls. (September, 1756.)

Rogers' most daring exploit, or most impudent one, was consummated on Christmas eve of 1757, when he and his men came close enough to kill about seventeen head of cattle and set fire to the wood piles of the garrison in Carillon. To the horns of one of the beeves, he attached a note to the fort commander:

"I am obliged to you, sir, for the repose you have allowed me to take. I thank you for the fresh meat you have sent me. I will take care of my prisoners. I request you to present my compliments to the Marquis de Montcalm. (Signed) Rogers, Commander of the Independent Companies."

The work which Rogers reported was chiefly that done by Dieskau and his men. When the French commander advanced to meet Sir William Johnson on Lake George in 1755, he fortified the heights at Ticonderoga by way of protecting his rear. Dieskau himself was wounded and taken prisoner in that fight, but his men, falling back as he had planned they should if the fortune of war demanded it, continued the building of the Carillon fort. They erected a storehouse at the landing, and a sawmill on the north side of the lower falls, at the time that the fort on the hill was being built. The site of the sawmill is now marked by a monument commemorating not only the building of the mill, but that it was the headquarters of General James Abercrombie while his men were carrying out his stupidly disastrous orders in the woods above him.

During the season of 1756, more than 2000 French workmen were constantly engaged upon the fort. The work continued slowly during the next year and a half. It did not always go on under peaceful conditions. A letter from Monsieur de Montreuil to the Minister of War at Montreal, on the twentieth of April, 1758, reports that on March 13, of that year, Monsieur de la Durentaye, an officer of the colony at the head of two hundred savages and some Canadians entirely destroyed a detachment of 160 English whom they met three leagues from the fort. "We lost," his report closes, "in this occasion, 20 savages killed and wounded."

In a letter of the same year, July 20, Montcalm wrote to the Minister of War that he had spent fifteen days at Carillon, and that he had found the work of the fort, begun the year before, but little advanced. He says:

"The fort is of pieces of wood laid with traverses and with the intervals between filled with earth."



COUNT DE BOUGAINVILLE



MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS

Some of the guns which defended the fort were brought to Carillon, as the French called Ticonderoga, from Fort William Henry in the spring of 1757 when Montcalm captured it from General Munro. Montcalm took away a siege-train of twelve heavy guns, several mortars, and a large supply of ammunition and stores.

The French had decidedly the upper hand in the war until the Earl of Newcastle retired as premier of England and William Pitt came in. Then General Webb who had been afraid to reinforce Munro at Fort William Henry, and the Earl of Loudon who had conducted a war of notes and inactivity, were swept out, and in their places came Sir Jeffry Amherst and General James Wolfe. They were good complements of one another, Amherst slow and over-cautious, Wolfe daring and unexpected in his brilliant moves. It was of Wolfe, when a nervous English critic said that he was mad, that George II made his famous retort:

“Vell den, if Wolfe is mat, I vish he yould pite some of my udder chenerals!”

The one weak spot left was General James Abercrombie, and to cover that spot, George Augustus, Lord Howe, was sent out to campaign with him. Pitt's plans were to secure the three points of France's strength, Quebec, Louisburg, and Ticonderoga; and for the taking of Ticonderoga, Abercrombie was chosen, still with Lord Howe attached to his forces, and with the redoubtable Rogers and his rangers among the band. Sir William Johnson also led up some of his Iroquois and held them in readiness on Mount Independence across the lake, but they were not used in the action. Of Abercrombie's army, Sloan gives a clear picture:

“In the early summer, while the English bombs were bursting over doomed Louisburg, there assembled on the shores of Lake George what is said to have been the largest number of white soldiers hitherto gathered together on the continent, an army of fifteen thousand men, six thousand three hundred and sixty seven British regulars, and nine thousand and twenty-four American provincials chiefly from New England, New York and northern New Jersey. Its nominal leader was Abercrombie

the former lieutenant of Lord Loudon. He was a survivor from the régime now happily passed away, and was dubbed by the rustic wit of the colonies, 'Nabbiecrombie.' The real leader was intended to be Lord Howe, regarded by penetrating men like Wolfe and Pitt as the mirror of military virtue. . . . Among the colonial officers were Captain Stark of New Hampshire, and Major Israel Putnam of Connecticut. Every preparation which human foresight could suggest had been made. Lord Howe and his regulars had thoroughly drilled themselves in the tactics of forest fighting, there were nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats for the troops, with stout barges for the artillery. The expedition moved down the lake on July fifth. The equipments were in good order, officers and men in high spirits. Early next morning they landed near the foot of the west shore, at a point still known as Howe's Cove."

From this point, the troops had to march through the woods to reach their objective, a wild, unbroken way. A party of French skirmishers three hundred in number under Langy, had been sent out to annoy them. The English, scrambling over fallen trees and skirting ravines, soon lost their way, and as the French skirmishers were equally at a loss for directions in the woods, the opposing parties came suddenly upon one another. Lord Howe and Major Israel Putnam had hurried to the forefront of the light troops when the firing began. What happened is best told in the words of Captain Moneypenny, who wrote to Mr. Calcraft on July 11, 1758:

"Sir:—It is with the Utmost Concern, I write you of the Death of Lord Howe. On the 6th the whole army landed without opposition, at the carrying place, about seven miles from Ticonderoga. About two o'clock, they marched in four columns, to Invest the Brest Work, where the enemy was Encamp'd, near the Fort. The Rangers were before the Army and the Light Infantry and marksmen at the Heads of the Columns. We expected, and met with some opposition near a small River, which we had to cross. When the Firing began on part of the



London Mag. for Decr. 1747.

Longit. W. from London



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BARONET

Left Column, Lord Howe, thinking it would be of the greatest Consequence to beat off the Enemy with the Light Troops, so as not to stop the March of the Main Body, went up with them, and had just gained the top of the Hill, where the firing was, when he was Killed. Never Ball had a more Deadly Direction. It entered his breast on the left side, and (as the Surgeons say) pierced his Lungs, and heart, and shattered his Back Bone. I was about six yards from him, he fell on his Back and never moved, only his Hands quivered an Instant. . . .

The Confidence the Army, both regular and provincial, had in his Abilities as a general officer, the Readiness with which, every order of his, or even entimation of what would be agreeable to Him, was comply'd with, is allmost Incredible. When His Body was brought into Camp, scarce an Eye was free from Tears."

His death was indeed an irreparable loss to the British. He had been called "the brains of the army." There were men left who could have planned the attack, but it was Abercrombie who was in command, and he was not the man either to plan or to offset the depression which had fallen upon his men with the death of Lord Howe. Montcalm had less than one-fourth the number of men that Abercrombie's army contained, but Montcalm himself had the entire confidence of his troops. He consulted his generals as to whether it was best to make a stand against so great a force of English, then, taking the advice of so old a campaigner as Monsieur Pouchot who commanded the regiment of Bearn, he decided to remain and fight.

The British could approach in a body only through the woods on the northwest, and in these woods, Montcalm had his men hurriedly throw up irregular lines of earthworks. Abercrombie, sitting disconsolate in the sawmill below, gave him time for completing the defences and cutting down trees throughout the wood to make the passage more difficult. Trees were piled before ditches so that only the occasional top of a silver-edged black tricorn appeared. Then fallen trees were dragged into position with their branches facing the enemy, so that an infantry attack was, by foregone conclusion destined to failure.

On the morning of the eighth of July, Abercrombie gave his orders for just such an attack. The infantry, unaided by any artillery whatsoever, were to go forward against the French outworks in the woods, take them at the point of the bayonet, and advance upon the fort. No artillery played against the breastwork; Abercrombie believed it unnecessary. No cannon fired from Mount Independence or from Defiance, there was no attempt made to get between the French and their base of supplies. The British were sent in good marching order, left, center and right, straight upon destruction. One can not charge a tree top with a bayonet, and to get through a fallen forest while muskets and swivel guns are firing directly upon one is, patently, difficult. Abercrombie did send a flotilla down the outlet to attempt to turn the French left, but the cannon of the fort easily drove it off.

To Abercrombie down at the sawmill, word was brought that the charge had failed, and his reply was that the troops should charge again. There were six such advances into the tree defences made that afternoon, and then at last, Abercrombie was convinced that the affair had failed, and having used his one idea, he fell into a panic, and hurried the shattered remnant of his men away in disorder. Montcalm, who realized how open to other attack his position was, made his defences even stronger in the ensuing days, but the English returned no more in that year. Four days after the charge, the French lines assumed the form they now have, running in points and zigzag lines along distance through the woods. Probably, much of the original plan was kept, and only such places as had proved weak, were corrected to coördinate with the rest of the works. Monsieur Pouchot's comment on this in his "Memoir upon the War in North America" is:

"On the eleventh we began to correct our intrenchments, having had good occasion to know their faults."

Monsieur Pouchot has left his tribute to the attacking force, as well as to the coolness and courage of the French.

"The enemy," he says, "behaved in this attack with the greatest bravery, standing without flinching before a terrible fire of



GEORGE AUGUSTUS, LORD HOWE



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

musketry. They had many killed within ten or twelve paces from our intrenchments."

The French troops behind the ramparts were the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc posted on the left under Bourlamarque, the first battalion of Barry and that of Royal Roussillon in the center under Montcalm, the battalions of La Reine, Bearn, (Pouchot's command) and Guienne on the right under de Levis. A detachment of volunteers was stationed on the low ground near the breastworks and the outlet of Lake George, and on the side towards Lake Champlain there were four hundred fifty Canadians and regulars, making about 3600 in all. The French seem to have had no intention of using Indians, and the Iroquois reserve of the English were not brought into action, so that Montcalm, in making his report of the affair to the Minister at Quebec, says that this was probably the first engagement in America in which Indians were not used.

The attacking troops were enumerated by an English officer writing from Albany after the fight. He was convalescing from a wound received during the attack, and he described the army as it had appeared on the route down Lake George to Howe's Cove:

"Rogers with the Rangers, and Gage with the light infantry led the way in whaleboats, followed by Bradstreet with his corps of boatmen, armed and drilled as soldiers. Then came the main body. The central column of regulars was commanded by Lord Howe, his own regiment, the fifty-fifth, in the van, followed by the Royal Americans, the twenty-seventh, forty-fourth, forty-sixth and eightieth infantry and the Highlanders of the forty-second with their major, Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, silent and gloomy amid the general cheer, for his soul was dark with foreshadowings of death. Then came the floating castles or batteries to cover the landing of troops, and on the right and left were the blue-uniformed provincials, the regiments from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. After the troops came the bateaux loaded with baggage and stores, then the flatboats containing the artillery, and the last in line was the rear guard of provincials and regulars.

Captain (late Major) Moneypenny who chronicled the preparations in his orderly book at Albany and late at Lake George Camp, has this entry for July 7, the day before the attack:

"If time permits the Army will be drawn up this Evening or tomorrow to fire a rejoicing Fire for the good News the General has had from Louisberg. . . . As there are a number of Indians expected this day with Sir Wm. Johnson all the troops are desired to treat them with the utmost Civility."

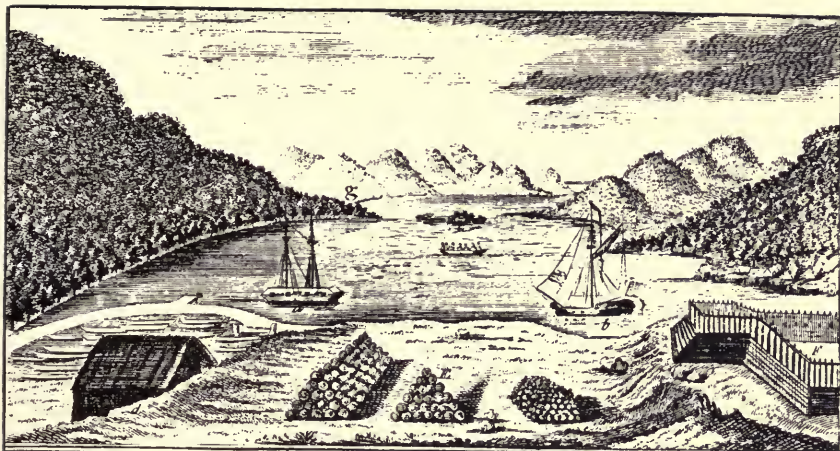
Then for two days, his book has no entries, and on July 10th he notes:

"The general thanks the officers and men for their gallant behavior at the French Lines."

It is not until the twenty-eighth of August that he records the belated order to the troops to fire their "rejoicing fire" for the "success of His Majesty's Arms in taking of Louisberg."

No account of that disaster of 1758 is complete without a tribute to the Grenadiers and Scotch Highlanders who distinguished themselves with a reckless bravery that lifted the wretched failure into something like martyrdom well met. The Black Watch, known in 1758 as the Highland Regiment and as the 42nd Regiment of Foot, left on the field one captain-lieutenant, six subalterns and one hundred eighty men killed. James Murray of this regiment, writing home after the fight from Albany where he was recovering from a wound in the thigh, says that the major, one lieutenant and six subalterns had died of wounds since the affair, while the colonel, four captains, twelve subalterns, and two hundred eighty men were wounded but still living.

This regiment was not up to its full strength in the attack. Normally, it numbered 1300 men, but two companies had been left to garrison Fort Edward, and a third company had met with such foul weather on its trip to America that it has reached New York only a few weeks before, after spending months at sea. When it did finally arrive, Abercrombie assigned it to Albany. The Highland regiment, with the 55th, was to have formed the reserve, but the reserve was soon in the thick of the fighting



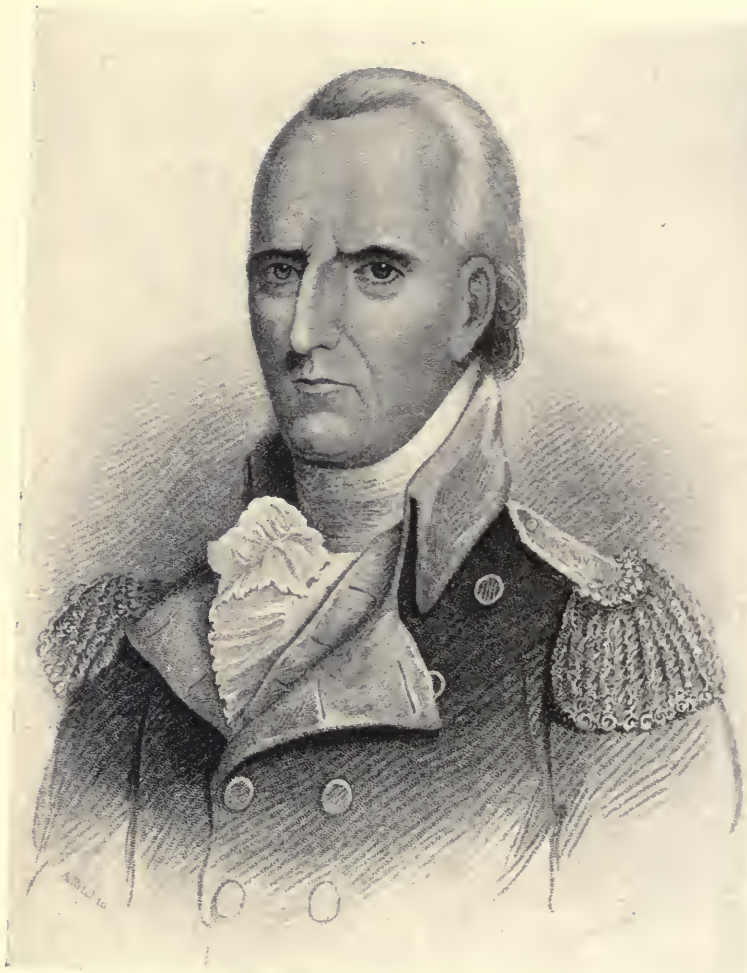
A PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF LAKE GEORGE.

- a. Floating Battery, of 8 Battering pieces of Cannon.
- b. Sloop of 14 Carriage Guns.
- c. Diamond Island, 14 Miles up the Lake.
- d. Store House.
- e. Piles of Shot & Shells.
- f. A Stockaded Fort.
- g. The Course the Lake takes.



Plan of Ticonderoga

- A. The Fort.
- B. The Lines.
- C. Filled Truss for 60 Turts.
- D. Cleared Ground.
- E. Lake Champlain.
- F. A work made to prevent our cutting off the Enemy's retreat.
- G. South Bay.
- H. Anillery Park.
- I. The Place, where the Batteries are launched into the Lake E.
- K. A Bridge.
- L. The Falls.
- M. Breast Work, made of Filled Truss to defend the Road.
- N. A small Fort to cover the Landing Place.
- O. The Landing Place for the Train.
- P. Provincial Regiments Encamped to assist at Landing Stores &c.
- Q. Routes to cover the Batteries.
- R. The Place where the Batteries lay.
- S. Mutton Island.
- T. The Place where the Van of the Army Landed.
- W. The Route they took.



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN STARK

about the tree ramparts. A few of the Black Watch under Captain John Campbell, forces their way over the breastworks where they were killed by the French bayonets. None of the regiments engaged, came off unscathed, but the greatest loss was to the Highlanders. The most eloquent comment on their depleted ranks occurs in the account given by Stewart of Garth:

“The old Highland Regiment having suffered so severely they were not employed again that year.”

CHAPTER III

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS—1759

THE year 1758 closed then with only one-third of Pitt's plan carried out. Wolfe had taken Louisburg, but Quebec and Ticonderoga were still French. In the West, Fort Duquesne had fallen to the English, and Oswego was once more in British hands. Now, with Abercrombie packed back to England where he was "kicked upstairs" into parliament, Sir Jeffery Amherst was made commander in chief of the king's forces in America with instructions to march the main army up the Hudson and then as far as Lake Champlain, after which, he was to pass Ticonderoga and unite with Wolfe at Quebec.

The position of the French at Carillon no longer had even the air of being solid. The French government was not granting to the war the support it needed, and disaffection was rife. Graft in the matter of supplies had raised the prices of necessities three hundred percent above normal, and men, asked to exist on one-half their usual rations in the name of the king and the frivolous governor whose indifference was causing their suffering, failed sometimes, of enthusiasm. The French leaders of the troops in the field and at the forts, however were of the best, and the defenses of Carillon had been strengthened after Abercrombie's attack. General Bourlamaque, who had been wounded in the fight in the French lines in 1758, had been left by Montcalm in charge of the fort in 1759.

The change in the English conduct of the war was making itself felt, that summer. Wolfe had reached Quebec with a small force, and Amherst's army was gathering. Early in July, he sent word to Wolfe that he was about to begin his march north. On July 21st, 5743 British regulars and about the same number



MAJOR-GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM



A VISTA

made thro the Wood
to extend the Prospect
from the Fort

CHAMPLAIN

RIVER TO LAKE

Little
Murray
River

T Y E O N D E R O G A

corruptly called

T I C O N D E R O G A

WOOD CREEK

of American provincials sailed down Lake George, made their landing and began their march towards Lake Champlain.

Not far from the shore, they were met by French skirmishers who delayed them a short time. Then, this first outpost of the enemy passed Amherst took up his position at the sawmill, and the men "lay on their arms" that night.

The French, meanwhile, acting on orders from Canada, withdrew from the fort, completing their manoeuver undiscovered, before daybreak of the next morning. Bourlamaque, however, took the precaution of leaving General Hebecourt with four hundred of his garrison in the fort to hold off the British until he with the rest of the French force, could get away clear on their retreat to Crown Point and Isle aux Noix.

In the morning, Amherst and his men moved up into the intrenchments in the woods. They had brought their artillery, an essential which Abercrombie had omitted the year before, and began strengthening their position by means of batteries.

Hebecourt's four hundred greeted them with hot firing and then with an attack in which the British loss was sixteen men killed and wounded, a loss increased to seventy-six men in the course of the next two days' fighting. Very little of the French fire was returned, but the digging and battery erecting went on until Amherst's men had come within 600 yards of the fort. They seem not to have known that the greater part of the French army had gone. On the third night, Hebecourt withdrew his men, leaving several mines charged for the destruction of the defenses, and a lighted fuse headed for the powder magazine. There was presently a tremendous explosion, and the place was in flames. Some of the British who had been sent down to the lake to saw through the boom, reported that the French were leaving, and the ships were attacked. Ten of them were captured, the rest making their way to Isle aux Noix where they joined Bourlamaque and blocked Amherst's way for a time.

During the next few months, Amherst repaired the fort and built a splendid fortress on Crown Point from which the French

had also withdrawn. Some skirmishing with French scouting parties took place, but except for one attempt to launch a small fleet on the lake, an attempt foiled by the autumn gales, he made no move to go to the aid of Wolfe. The *London Magazine* for December, 1759, gives Amherst's own account of his unlucky lake expedition, when French sloops and a "quite contrary" wind drove the British ships ashore and changed their commander's mind about going on to Quebec.

An interesting account of the investure, from the British point of view, is contained in a letter sent on August 4, 1759, to the Reverend Stephen Williams, by his young friend Eli Forbush, the chaplain of one of the provincial regiments of Amherst's army. Forbush, unaware, naturally, of the French design of merely checking Amherst on his way to Quebec, interprets the withdrawal as a panicky flight before the British, but Eli Forbush had not been on Carillon the year before. The letter is too long to be inserted here, but even a section of it gives a vivid impression of the advance:

"The fleet reached Sabbath Day Point by Day light," he says, "then the Invincible came to anchor, and ye whole fleet lay upon ye Ores till Break of Day, when ye signal was given for Sailing, and the whole landed without opposition, between ye hours of nine and eleven, the 22nd, the Light Infantry, Rangers, and Grenad'rs marched immediately for the Mill, where they found the enemy posted, in three Advantageous Places, but as soon as they saw the Resolution and Dexterity of our advancing parties, they fled and left ye grounds in our possession, and as our People got ye first fire and received only a running fire from them, little execution was done on either side, we obtain three prisoners and kild three on ye spot, and received only a slight wound or two from them. The whole Army march'd forward, beside what was necessary to gaurd the Lanfing Place, with ye Vessels and stores, some were imploy'd in persuing the enemy, some in clearing the roads, and ye water course from ye Mill, others in taking possession of all ye most advantageous ground near ye Fort—the whole was performed with ye greatest Regu-

larity, ye least noise, a noble calmness and intrepid Resolution, ye whole Army seemed to partake of ye very soul of ye Commander. As ye enemy had not force nor Courage to man ye lines yt prov'd so Fatal to our Brave Troops last year, we took possession of them without much opposition, and before Day of ye 23rd Began to intrench and ye body of ye Army incamped behind ye Breastwork, which covered them from ye Enemies' fire, as soon as it was light and ye Enemy perceived our Disposition, they raised a smart cannonade upon us, but without much Effect, those that were intrenching between ye Breastwork and ye Fort had by this time covered themselves, and ye Breastwork was a Defence to ye Camp, they continued to cannonade and to throw ye Shells, and we continued to intrench, advancing nearer, the Gen'l ordered yt no Fire shd be Returned upon ye Enemy (except in case of Necessary Defence) till He had all ye Batteries ready to open at once, and as ye trenches were long ye Digging bad, the whole could not be completed till Thursday night ye 26th or rather Fryday morning ye 27. when ye Batteries were to be opened at once, the Enemy seemed fully Sensible of ye Fatal Consequences of such Heavy Batteries for a little after midnight between ye 26 & 27 they blew up ye magazine and made off, some by land on ye east Side of ye Lake and some by Water with all yt they could carry,"

Lord Amherst's own account of the repairs upon the fort is important for the details which he has given very clearly in his letter to Pitt, dated August 5, 1759, and written from Crown Point:

"The 27th of July, I encamped within the lines and began to level the trenches and batteries, filled up the road I had made from Lake Champlain to the Saw-mill river, for the carrying on the siege, encamped four battalions of the provincials near the fort for repairing the works, sent 500 men to Fort George for provisions &c, ordered all the French boats to be fish'd up, and the brig boats I had ordered to be built for carrying guns, to be finished in all haste, that I may be superior to the enemy's sloops on the lake.



GRENADIER, 42ND REGT. 1751.

(From a painting at Windsor Castle.)

42ND HIGHLANDERS, THE BLACK WATCH 1751



SIR JEFFREY AMHERST

28th. The fire was not totally extinguished. I forwarded everything as fast as possible, that I might get possession of Crown Point without loss of time. . . .

31st. . . . Ordered the fort at Ticonderoga to be repaired on the same plan as the enemy had built it, which will save great time and expences, as it is but a small part of the whole that is ruined: the cost the enemy has been at in building the fort and houses are very great. The glacis and covered way quite good: the counterscarp of the glacis, masonry: the counterscarp of the ditch masonry. Two ravelins of masonry that cover the only front to which approaches can be carried on. The fort is a square with four bastions, built with logs on the rocks, which are covered with some masonry to level the foundation. The wood part of it is the worst finished. The bastion and a part of two courtins demolished, but not in the front that can be easiest attacked. The casemates are good; the walls of the burnt barracks are not damaged. Eleven good ovens have helped us greatly. As the situation of the fort is very advantageous for the protection of his Majesty's dominions, and the approaches may be rendered as difficult to the enemy, as they have been to the king's troops, and that there is no fault in it but its being small, I have thought proper to have it repaired, which I hope will meet with your approbation."

The fort was undoubtedly in better condition in 1760 when the extensive repairs were completed than it has ever been since. But, though the soldier diaries of the period tell of much skirmishing farther up the lake, especially around Crown Point and Isle aux Noix, there is no record of the use of Ticonderoga except as a way station where men going from one post to another, stopped for a day or two, or as a source of supply for the men engaged in erecting the great fortress at Crown Point. David Holden of Groton, Massachusetts, a sergeant in the provincial troops, stationed at Crown Point in 1760 kept a spicy journal of camp life in which there are several mentions of Ticonderoga. For June 20th, he chronicles,

"An Express went to Ticonderoga a small Party of men went Down the Lake with Major Skeen"

The journal continues,

“June 21. Wet Day Cap^t. Whiting Inlisted Carpenters to work in the Fort Cap^t Jeffords Company arrived here

June 22. Nothing Remarkable

June 23. This was a wet Day, Major Roggers arrived here from his Scout at St Johns, Brought in 25 prisoners

June 24. A man of the massachusetts Received 100 Lashes for his Insolent Language to his Ensign the Cremonals name was John Bunker”

Probably garrison life at Ticonderoga was much the same as at the fort below, except that there were no longer any French in the vicinity, and, with the need for defense gone, the fort was not kept in fighting trim. It was a place to live in, and it seems typical of the quiet which fell upon it, that the next mention of any life there was when Ethan Allen roused the little garrison from a sleep, which, so far as history is concerned, might have gone on from 1760 to 1775.



MONUMENT TO LIEUT.-COL. ROGER TOWNSHEND IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY
(Killed in Amherst's attack)



The Manner, in which the American Colonies Declared themselves
INDEPENDANT *of the King of ENGLAND,*
Throughout the different Provinces, on July 4, 1776.

CHAPTER IV

A TIME OF PEACE, AND THE REVOLUTION

BETWEEN the close of the French wars and the beginning of the Revolution, there is little record of Ticonderoga.

The British held it, and maintained a garrison there, sometimes a mere handful, but no fights occurred to make famous the name of any commandant between 1759 and 1775. Among the manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth is a letter from Major Gavin Cochrane written in 1775 shortly after the news of Allen's capture of the fort reached England. In this letter, Major Cochrane says that he was in command at Crown Point and Ticonderoga during four years and feels in a position to assert that the places are important and should be retaken. Other records show that Gavin Cochrane, then a captain, was wounded in the engagement of Abercrombie's men at Ticonderoga in 1758 and that he was busy about the king's affairs in South Carolina and Georgia during 1764 and 1765, after which he went to London where there is record of him during 1766. In 1773 he asked for a grant of land in the region of Crown Point. His command at Ticonderoga may have been from 1767 to 1771 or, more likely, from 1760 to 1764. The Colonial Documents of New York record that in 1765 Major Thomas James with his men came down from Crown Point to New York city to aid in enforcing the Stamp Act. Major James was very probably, in command of both Crown Point and Ticonderoga at that time, since the custom was to place both forts under one commandant. On February 15, 1767, Lieutenant-Governor Carleton of Canada, wrote to Major-General Gage:

"The forts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga are in a very declining condition . . . should you approve of keeping up these posts, it will be best to repair them as soon as possible."

I find no mention of the garrison at Ticonderoga during the next five years. Then, in April, 1773, a chimney at Crown Point fortress caught fire, and the entire place was wrecked when the stored powder exploded during the conflagration. The letter of Governor Tryon reporting this, makes no mention of any loss of life, but other records, as well as the manner in which the fire was started, point to the fact that a garrison was there at the time. After this fire, active garrisoning of both places ceased for a time, no more than a mere guard being left at each fort. On September 1, 1773, Major-General Haldimand wrote to Governor Tryon:

"I have further to observe that Crown Point, being entirely destroyed and unprovided for the quartering of troops, and Ticonderoga being in a ruinous state, such troops as might be sent thither, would not be able to stay a sufficient time at those posts to render them of much utility.

"If, however, you persist in your request and think it absolutely necessary to send troops thither, I beg to know the number of troops you will think necessary, & when they may be wanted. You will please also to provide for the expenses that attend their transportation ettc to these Posts."

Governor Tryon did persist in his belief, and Haldimand himself was sent to Ticonderoga with the 60th Regiment. Probably he did not remain in actual command of the fort long, since his duties in Canada were of first importance.

In June of the following year, Governor Tryon reported to the Earl of Dartmouth, that Fort Edward was abandoned, only a few men being kept at the works at the south end of Lake George to facilitate the transportation to the next posts, Ticonderoga and Crown Point. "These," he continues, "are both garrisoned by His Majesty's Troops, but since the fire which happened at Crown Point, only a small guard is kept there, the principal part of the Garrison being withdrawn and posted at Ticonderoga."

And in July, 1774, the Earl of Dartmouth wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York:



MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES LEE

"It being under consideration to reestablish the Military Posts, either at Crown Point or Ticonderoga or both; it is the King's Pleasure that the Lands reserved for Sir Jeffry Amherst for the Convenience and Accomodation of those Posts, be excepted out of any Sales or Grants of Lands whatever."

Early in 1775, Major Philip Skene of Skenesborough, now Whitehall, and of London, obtained the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In 1783, he was asking for the money due him during his eight years' governorship. However, as he was sent down to Philadelphia as a prisoner when Allen captured the fort in 1775 and according to a letter written at that time, "has no Government to go to", it is not probable that he was able to press his claims for salary. He went to England on his release and returned with Burgoyne's army, aiding him in his passage down towards Saratoga and his surrender.

When the Revolution was impending, Ticonderoga once more became formidable, but as the seat of war seemed, at first, to be entirely in Massachusetts, no effort was made by the English to maintain Ticonderoga in the condition which active warfare would demand. The colonists were in rebellion, but they had no one leader. It was their unanimity of sentiment that held them together and made daring exploits possible. They realized thoroughly that war was upon them, and that their first need was for ammunition with which to make their resistance formidable.

In the reports of the Connecticut Council of Safety we read that in April, 1775, Samuel Holden Parsons, Esq., Colonel Samuel Wyllys, Silas Deane and others undertook to seize the enemy's fort at Ticonderoga, and having expended money from the state treasury in the effort, asked that the receipts for their expenditures be cancelled. These three, with eight other prominent men of New England gathered the force of men which Ethan Allen led. It may be that Benedict Arnold, who has been credited with suggesting the attack in the first place, expected to use this force, for when he was commissioned by the

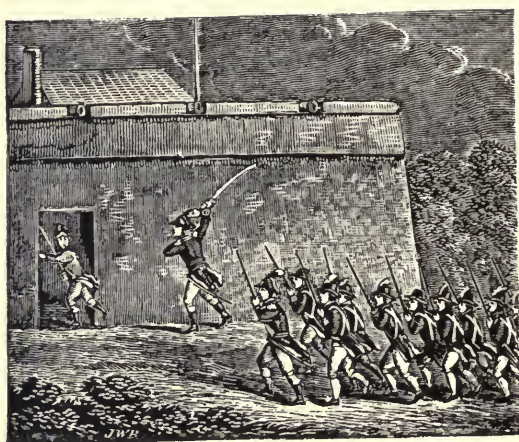
Committee of Safety to seize Ticonderoga, he came up to Castleton, Vermont where these troops were gathered, quite without any army of his own. The two leaders, both fiery and impatient of opposition, discussed the question of leadership angrily, and then Arnold, giving way, agrees to accompany the expedition without leading it.

Together they proceeded to Shoreham on the night of May 9, 1775, and there Nathan Beman, the son of a farmer of that vicinity, joined them as guide. The real difficulty was the scarcity of boats. The few obtainable were rowed back and forth all that night, but by daybreak, only eighty-three men and most of the officers had crossed. Then Allen would wait no longer, but leaving the rear division under Colonel Seth Warner on the Vermont shore, he led his men quickly and quietly up the south heights to the wicket gate in the wall. The sleepy sentinel upon whom the apparition of Allen, Arnold, and the eighty-three came suddenly, snapped his fusee, but it missed fire, and then he fled back up the steps and into the court yard with the Americans close upon his heels. They followed him to the parade ground within the barrack square, and there they met another sentry who thrust at Colonel Easton but was quieted by a sword blow from Allen.

In the parade ground, the Green Mountain Boys formed in two divisions with a line of forty men along each of the two ranges of barracks. Then they raised a shout which roused the sleeping garrison, and the British rushed out,—to be taken prisoners. Colonel Allen asked where Captain Delaplace was to be found, and, young Beman guiding, ran up the outer stairs of the west barrack to his door. The commandant, roused by a shout, sprang up and opened the door upon a tall soldier who demanded the instant surrender of the fort. Delaplace had received no intimation from the British government that a war was on. He and his little garrison of forty-eight men had been undisturbed hitherto in their garrisoning of the quiet old fort on the lake, and here suddenly was invasion. The bit of repartee which followed is famous:



Ethan Allen



CAPTURE OF FORT BY ALLEN
From an old wood-cut

"In whose name?" asked the half-awakened captain.

"In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" Allen replied.

Lossing in his *Fieldbook of the Revolution* states that the brother of Isaac Rice—now buried in the fort cemetery not far from the Montcalm cross—was with Allen at the time, and that he reported Allen's reply as something rather stronger. Like Colonel Whittelsey of the Lost Battalion, he felt the occasion worthy of an oath. Lossing adds,

"Delaplace had about as much respect for the Continental Congress as Allen had for Jehovah, and they respectively relied upon and feared powder and ball more than either."

Indeed, Allen was exaggerating in giving Congress as his authority, for that body was quite unaware of his enterprise, and according to DePuy "did not meet for organization until six hours after the surrender of the fort." (P. 209).

The spoils of the capture consisted of 120 pieces of iron cannon, 50 swivels, 10 tons of musket balls, 3 cartloads of flints, 30 new gun carriages, a considerable quantity of shells, a warehouse full of material for boat building, and a large quantity of other stores.

Ethan Allen, elated over his success, promptly sent off letters to Massachusetts Council and the Governor of Connecticut. To the former, he wrote on May 11, 1775,

"Gentlemen: I have to inform you, with pleasure unfelt before, that on the break of day of the tenth of May, 1775, by the order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, I took the Fortress of Ticonderoga by storm. The soldiery was composed of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys, and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The latter was under command of Colonel James Easton, who behaved with great zeal and fortitude,—not only in council; but in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury, that they so terrified the King's troops, that they durst not fire on their assailants, and our soldiery was agreeably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancour

when they leaped into the Fort; and it must be confessed, that the Colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that fortress, as well as John Brown, Esq., attorney at law, who was also an able counsellor, and was personally in the attack. I expect the Colonies will maintain this fort. As to the cannon and war-like stores, I hope they may serve the cause of liberty instead of tyranny, and I humbly implore your assistance in immediately assisting the Government of Connecticut in establishing a garrison in the reduced premises. Colonel Easton will inform you at large. From, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant. Ethan Allen.

“To the Honorable Congress of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, or Council of War.”

On the following day, Allen wrote from Ticonderoga to the Governor of Connecticut,

“Hon’ble Sir: I make you a present of a Major, a Captain, and two Lieutenants in the regular Establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston, and particularly for Captain Brown of Rhode Island. A party of men, under the command of Capt. Herrick, has took possession of Skenesborough, imprisoned Major Skene, and seized a schooner of his. I expect, in ten days time, to have it rigged, manned and armed, with six or eight pieces of cannon, which, with the boats in our possession, I purpose to make an attack on the armed sloop of George the Third, which is now cruising on Lake Champlain, and is about twice as big as the schooner. I hope in a short time to be authorized to acquaint your Honour, that Lake Champlain, and the fortifications thereon, are subject to the Colonies.

“The enterprise has been approbated by the officers and soldiery of the Green Mountain Boys, nor do I hesitate as to the success. I expect lives must be lost in the attack, as the commander of the George’s sloop is a man of courage, etc.

“Messrs Hickock, Halsey and Nichols have the charge of conducting the officers to Hartford. These gentlemen have been very assiduous and active in the late expedition.



ETHAN ALLEN AND CAPT. DE LA PLACE

Ticonderoga 12th May 1775

Hon^{ble} Sir I make You a Present of a Major
a Captain and Two Lieut^s in the regular
Establishment of George the Third I hope
they may serve as ransoms for some of our
Friends at Boston and particularly for Capt
Brown of Rhodiseland a Party of men under
the Command of Capt Herick has Took Posses-
=sion of Newborough Imprisoned Major Secon
and seized a Schooner of his, I Expect in
Ten days Time to have it rigged ~~and~~ manned
and armed with 6 or 8 Pieces of Canon which
with the Boat in our Possession I Purpose
to make ~~an~~ an Attack on the armed Hoop of
George the Third which is Now Cruising
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Time to be authorized to acquaint Your Hon-
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thereon are subjected to the Colonies
The Enterprize has been approbated by the

Officers and Souldiers of the Green Mountain
Boys Nor do I hesitate as to the Success
I Expect Lives must be Lost in the
Attack as the Commander of George's Troop
is a man of Courage &c.

I Conclude Capt Warner
is by this Time in Possession of Crown Point
the Ordnance Stores &c I Conclude Governor
Carlton will Exert himself to oppose us &
Command the Lake &c - Messrs Hickok
Halley & Nichols have the Charge of Condu-
cting the ~~Officers~~ ^{Officers} to Hartford These Gentles
=men have been Very Assiduous and active in
the Late Expedition I Depend upon your
Honours Aid and Assistance in a Situation
so contiguous to ~~Canada~~ Canada -
I subscribe my self your Honours Ever
Faithfull most Obedient and Humble servant

Edm Allen,
at Present Commander of Ticonderoga

"I depend upon your Honour's aid and assistance in a situation so contiguous to Canada.

"I subscribe myself, your Honour's ever faithful, Most obedient and humble servant. Ethan Allen.

"At present commander of Ticonderoga. To the Hon'ble Johnathan Trumbell, esq., Capt. General and Governor of the Colony of Connecticut."

Captain Delaplace's view of the matter is well set forth in his letter of May 24 to the General Assembly and Governor of Connecticut:

"The memorial of William Delaplace, a Captain in His Majesty's Twenty-sixth Regiment, and Commandant of the Fort and Garrison of Ticonderoga, in behalf of himself and the officers and soldiers under his command, beg leave to represent our difficult situation to your Honours, and petition for redress.

"Your memorialist would represent that on the morning of the tenth of May, the garrison of the fortress of Ticonderoga, in the Province of New York, was surprised by a party of armed men, under the command of one Ethan Allen, consisting of about one hundred and fifty, who had taken such measures as effectually to surprise the same, that very little resistance could be made, and to whom your memorialists were obliged to surrender as prisoners; and overpowered by a superior force were disarmed, and by said Allen ordered immediately to be sent to Hartford in the Colony of Connecticut, where your memorialists are detained as prisoners of war,—consisting of officers, forty-seven private soldiers of His Majesty's troops, besides women and children. That your memorialists, being ignorant of any crime by them committed, whereby they should thus be taken and held, also are ignorant by what authority said Allen thus took them, or that they are detained thus in a strange country, and at a distance from the post assigned them; thus know not in what light they are considered by your Honours consequently know not what part to act; would therefore ask your Honours' interposition and protection, and order that they may be set at liberty, to return to the post from whence they were taken, or to



GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD



GENERAL HENRY KNOX

join the regiment to which they belong; or if they are considered in the light of prisoners of war, your Honours would be pleased to signify the same to them, and by whom they are detained, and that your Honours would afford us your favor and protection during the time we shall tarry in this colony; and your memorialist shall ever pray. William Delaplace,

“Captain, Commandant, Ticonderoga Fort.

“Hartford, May 24, 1775.”

There was a British armed sloop lying at St. Johns, and Arnold, going there in the schooner taken at Skenesborough by Captain Herrick, made an easy capture of the heavy sloop with its crew of one sergeant and twelve men. On the twelfth of May, Colonel Seth Warner took the one hundred men of his command down the lake to Crown Point and captured the place with as little actual fighting as had been necessary to reduce Ticonderoga. Skenesborough and the fort at the head of Lake George were next taken, so that within the space of a few days, both lakes had come into the hands of the colonists, and Washington, his greatest difficulty for the present overcome, sent Knox up to bring the military stores down to Boston.

On June 23rd, the Continental Congress which had lent its authority all unwittingly, recognized the services of Ethan Allen and his associates, voted to pay the men who had been employed in the taking and garrisoning of the captured forts, and recommended that the Green Mountain Boys be employed at once in the army raised for the defense of America, under such officers as the “boys” might choose. An election was held soon after, and the leadership of these Vermont troops was given to Colonel Seth Warner. Allen, coming back to Ticonderoga, this time without even a small force of men, offered his services in whatever capacity he could be used. He was sent with Montgomery on an expedition to Isle aux Noix, and then, suddenly, he went off with a small body of troops to capture Montreal. He had expected to be joined in this enterprise by Major Brown, but the reinforcements never came, and Allen,

after a brave but hopeless fight, was taken prisoner by the British General Prescott and sent to England whence he finally returned through an exchange of prisoners in 1778.

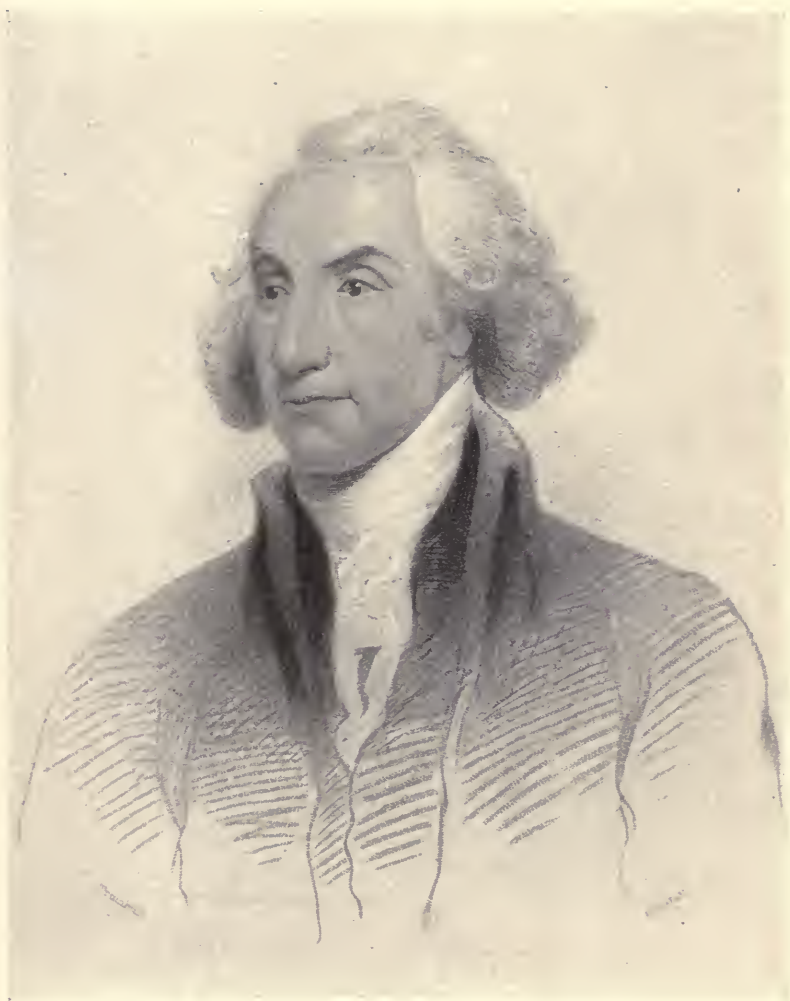
Congress seems to have made no immediate plans for strengthening the American hold upon Ticonderoga, for we find Silas Deane writing soon after Allen's capture that there were but eighteen men in the fort and that everything was in the "utmost decay." Benedict Arnold remained for some little time as commandant and then was superseded by Colonel Hinman of Connecticut. General Schuyler had been made commander of the army in the north, but illness caused his withdrawal from action before the Canadian expedition was far advanced, and on June 15, 1776, we find him writing,

"As to fortifying Ticonderoga and Fort George and opening up the road by Wood Creek, it is utterly impossible with the men I now have left."

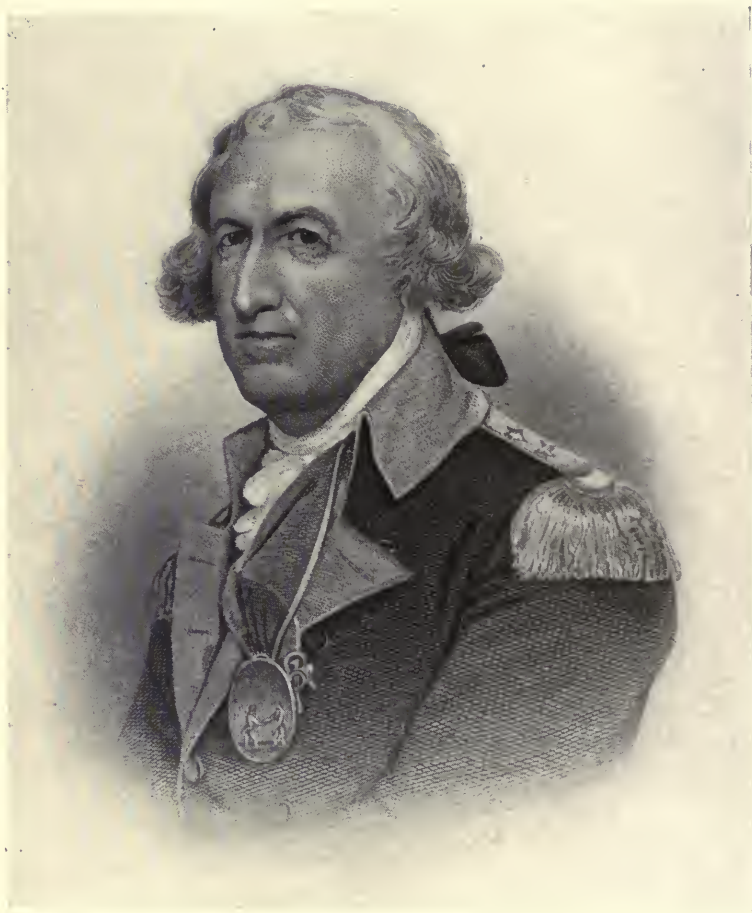
The Albany Committee of Safety had supplied some guns to replace what Knox had removed and had, during the summer of 1775, sent in a small garrison. Meanwhile, the boat material was being put to use. In the Journals of the Continental Congress, we find this entry for January 8th, 1776:

"Resolved that shipwrights be immediately sent from New York and Philadelphia to general Schuyler, or the commander of the forces at Ticonderoga, to be employed by him in constructing a number of batteaus, not exceeding one hundred, for transporting troops with their baggage from that place into Canada, whenever it may be found necessary."

There were American troops already in Canada when Congress voted this measure. St. Johns had capitulated to the Americans on November 3rd, 1775, and the prisoners taken there by Montgomery and Seth Warner passed through Ticonderoga on their way down to the interior of New England. The shattered remnant of Benedict Arnold's force came down from their unsuccessful siege of Quebec in June, 1776, and stopped for rest at Crown Point. From this time, no northern movement of American troops passed Ticonderoga. The conquest of Canada had failed.



MAJOR-GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER



MAJOR-GENERAL HORATIO GATES

General Horatio Gates became commandant at Ticonderoga in June, 1776, though General Schuyler remained there for a time and, as the fort lay within his territory as commander of the northern army, recommendations concerning it were issued by him during that year and the next. There was an ever increasing garrison that summer, and as it came in, the regiments, the majority of which were those of Pennsylvania, were assigned to one or another of the four brigades. The New England troops were not in such good condition, nor were the men so well chosen. Every man who had wished to enlist, apparently, was accepted in their ranks, old, young, black, red, or white. "Damned Yankees," the Pennsylvania men called them, and sectional feeling ran high. Small pox broke out among the troops, and where the fresh earth was thrown up for intrenchments, malaria and ague wrought havoc. The sick had to be taken to Fort George for treatment, since there was no medicine supply at Ticonderoga. They were rather a dismal group of men at times. Even the few brass and reed musical instruments which a New England regiment had brought to camp, were sent for by Congress, and had to be packed and sent to Philadelphia, probably to be used among troops on more active service.

By fall there was need of reinforcements to guard against the new war plan of the British. They had failed to shut up the Revolution in Boston. It was, undeniably, going on throughout New England. So, admitting this, the British conceived what was known as the triangle plan, an attempt to make the Hudson River the western boundary of rebellion. Lord Howe, the brother of that much loved Howe who fell near Ticonderoga in 1758, was to come down from Canada with the fleet, take New York, spread out his line across Connecticut and New York, and move north. General Barry St. Leger was to go down from Canada to Niagara, then come east through the Mohawk valley, taking Fort Stanwix en route, and join Burgoyne at Albany. Sir Guy Carleton was to clear Lake Champlain, take Ticonderoga, and then, meeting his allies from the south and west, pinch out the rebellion inside the limits of New England and New York.

By this means, they would also, as the essential feature of the scheme, "bag the fox" who was Washington, and who appreciated fox hunting and had no intention of being bagged.

Towards the furtherance of this plan, the British began constructing a fleet at the northern end of Lake Champlain, and to meet it, boat building went on briskly around Ticonderoga. It was during the summer of 1776 also that the works upon Mount Independence were erected. By the first of October, the British fleet was ready to start up the lake. It consisted of the schooners *Inflexible*, *Maria*, *Carleton*, and *Thunderer*, and a number of gondolas, gunboats, and longboats, each of these smaller craft carrying one gun. It was manned by seven hundred seamen under Captain Pringle. Benedict Arnold who had been holding part of the garrison under Gates and quarrelling with Colonel Moses Hazen and the entire court appointed to try the Colonel on a charge preferred by Arnold, was catapulted out of his quarrel into action as commander of the fleet, built by the Americans. This consisted of one sloop, three schooners, five gondolas, one cutter, three galleys, and three gunboats. The American crews were three hundred ninety-five men gathered together without much regard for their previous condition of life.

Arnold, whose generalship then was as unquestioned as his daring, took his vessels down the lake and disposed them behind the island of Valcour, and there, the British fleet discovered them on the morning of the twelfth of October. The American fleet, outmanned and outgunned, fought for four hours, losing one schooner and one gondola, while several other ships were badly injured. Captain Pausch, a Hessian officer with the English fleet, wrote in his journal:

"The cannon of the Rebels were well served; for, as I saw, afterwards, our ships were pretty well mended and patched up with boards and stoppers."

That night, the British stationed ships across the lake to prevent the escape of the crippled squadron, but in the morning, the American ships had disappeared. Two of Captain Pringle's



GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN



COLONEL BARRY ST. LEGER

lieutenants have left on record a letter rebuking him for his carelessness in the matter, and giving Arnold credit for a marvelous feat of craft and seamanship. Pringle's frigate which had run aground was set afire, and a chain of bateaux guarded the passage so lighted, but the night was foggy, and Arnold, called a council and gave minute directions to his ship commanders, for their order of retreat. The Trumbull galley commanded by Colonel Wigglesworth, a sea-going landsman of the Massachusetts militia, led with barely enough sail to give her steerage way, and a lantern under her stern so masked as not to be seen except by those directly in her wake. After her, the rest of the fleet proceeded, each one lighting the trail dimly for the next ship in line, with intervals of two to three hundred yards between them. Arnold himself brought up the rear, and the whole manoeuver was conducted in absolute silence, and without the enemy's being aware of the proximity of that lantern-bearing line of fugitives. It was a situation worthy of Rembrandt's subtle lighting, or of Stevenson's pen.

Next day, the British ships pursued, and caught up with the Americans at noon. The fight went on again, and five of Arnold's ships which had been driven into a bay on the east shore, were sunk. The Washington was captured, and Arnold, in the Congress galley met the brunt of the onset, covering the retreat of his other boats as long as he could. The few ships which escaped fled to Ticonderoga, and thither Arnold followed with the crews of the burned ships. Three of Arnold's fleet the *Enterprize*, *Trumbull* and *Revenge* were still moored to the dock at Ticonderoga in 1777 and were sunk then during the desperate effort of Colonel Brown of Massachusetts to recapture the fort. In the winter of 1909, the work of reconstructing the old fort and the life and times it represented was begun when Mr. Stephen Pell had the skeleton of the *Revenge* raised from the bottom of the lake after its 130 years of submarine life and drawn up on shore below the ruins of the fort. ✓

When news of the disaster to Arnold's fleet reached Crown Point, the Americans set fire to the place and withdrew to join

the force at Ticonderoga. Carleton's transports, following his fleet found it ready for them and stopped there to wait a favorable wind. The wind, however, was a good American ally for the next eight days, and Gates' army at Ticonderoga spent that time profitably in strengthening the works and surrounding them with an abatis. Cannon carriages were renewed and guns mounted. The army with its reinforcements now numbered 1200 men. Besides Gates, Generals Anthony Wayne, Benedict Arnold, and St. Clair were all at Ticonderoga, and the orderly book of the period shows how constant were their expectations of attack. For October 26, 1776, the day's bulletin runs:

"In case of a general Allarm one Gun will be Fir'd from the Jersey Redoubt to be answered by one Gun from the Upper Redoubt upon Mount Independance. When every Reg and Crps is to repair to their Allarm Posts. The Commanding Officers of Artillery on each Side is to take care that a Man is constantly ready in the Different Redoubts to give these Signals.

"Brigadier Gen. Arnold will take the Command of all the Troops and Redoubts in the Flat Ground North of Ticonderoga and off the Vessels which guard the Boom, the Stone Redoubt upon the Point included.

"Brigadier Gen. St. Clair will take command of the French Lines, Advanced Posts and Works in the Rear of the French Lines.

"Brigadier Gen. Brickett will Post Himself in the old Fort and have the Defence of the Covert Way and Works depending thereon.

"The Brigades upon Mt. Independance upon a Signal of a Gen. Alarm being fir'd to repir to their respective allarm Posts and receive and obey the Orders of Col. Stark, Col. Patterson and Col. Enoch Poor." (Munsell.)

But Carleton realized, at the end of the eight days, that his opportunity had passed. He waited at Crown Point until after the middle of November, and then, reembarking his army, returned to Canada without striking a blow.

After his withdrawal, Gates left to join Washington's army, and General Schuyler gave over the command of Fort



BATTLE OF VALCOUR ISLAND, 1776



GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY

Ticonderoga and Mount Independence to Anthony Wayne. No attack was expected until the summer of 1777, and to meet it, Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko strengthened the works at both places and had a boom constructed to prevent the passage of ships. The old French lines on the heights of Carillon were put in order, blockhouses were set up at either end of the lines, and a bridge was thrown across the lake to maintain communication between Ticonderoga and Independence. This bridge was of twenty-two piers connected by floats fifty feet long and twenty wide. The boom was of large timbers fastened together by double chains of inch-and-a-half square iron.

Wayne had in his turn, been withdrawn from the fort in the late spring of 1777, and General Arthur St. Clair took command of the 2500 Continental troops and 900 militia at Ticonderoga. There were several needs which Congress had failed to supply, the garrison was not well equipped, and in a council held on June 20 attended by General Schuyler, General St. Clair, Brigadier General Roche de Fermoy, Brigadier General Enoch Poor, and Brigadier General Patterson, the conclusions were reached, that the garrison was insufficient, that repairs should be undertaken at once and that it was only prudent to provide for a retreat. It is not therefore, all to be laid to the door of General St. Clair that he made so little resistance when Burgoyne's army came against him. He arranged his men to meet an attack through the woods or from the lake, but the British general Phillips and his engineer Lieutenant Twiss, elected instead to carry through a plan which Gates had rejected the year before.

"Where a goat can go, a man can go," said General Phillips, "and where a man can go, he can pull a gun up after him."

So he ordered his men to pull up their guns to the top of Mount Defiance which overlooks Ticonderoga from the south west. The work was done at night, and on the morning of July 5th, St. Clair saw redcoats busy completing a battery with its guns aimed for the destruction of his works. He called a council at once, and the general opinion was, wisely or not, in favor of

immediate evacuation, before the British could attack. So the day was spent in packing and planning, and on the night of the fifth, stores and baggage were sent to Skenesborough by bateau, and the troops set forth across the bridge to Independence. The garrison there fell in behind the Ticonderoga men and the retreat to Castleton was undertaken. Then, suddenly, General de Fermoy's house in the little French village below the fort at Ticonderoga burst into flame, and by that light the British discovered their enemy making all speed away from the fort. A pursuit was ordered, and after a day's march General Frazier of the British army, overtook the American rear guard under Seth Warner. Warner met the attack and held off the British long enough to give the troops ahead of him better chance to escape, but he was finally routed and his men driven in disorderly flight when the British brought up a second force under Baron Riedesel. There were some prisoners taken, and an American loss of 324 in killed and wounded, but the greater part of the troops with their leaders reached either Castleton or Fort Edward in safety.

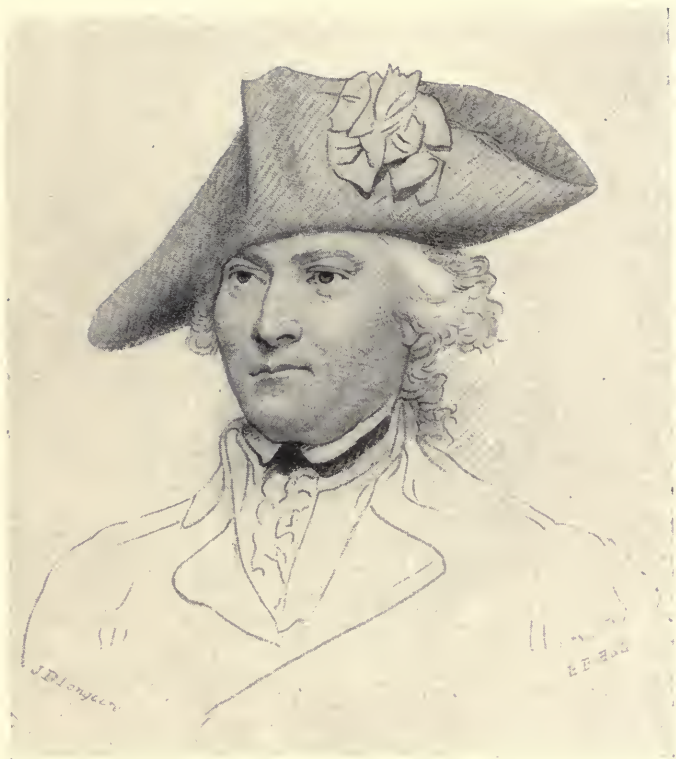
This left Ticonderoga at Burgoyne's disposal. He cut the bridge and the unfinished boom to the south of it, pursued the American galleys which were on guard, and getting within range of them near Skenesborough at three on the afternoon of July 6th, put his frigates into action. He captured two of the American galleys and the remaining three were blown up. The crews, landing, were pursued by the British Ninth Regiment under Colonel Hill. A band of Iroquois reinforced the British along Wood Creek, and the Americans, having fired Fort Anne, fled again, reaching Fort Edward in safety.

Burgoyne's report to the king, as published in the London Magazine for August, 1777, describes the disposition of St. Clair's forces at Ticonderoga thus:

"The enemy appeared to be posted as follows: a brigade occupied the old French lines upon the height northward of the fort of Ticonderoga. These lines were in good repair, and had several entrenchments behind them, chiefly calculated to guard



GENERAL ANTONY WAYNE



MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR

the north-west flank, and they were further sustained by a blockhouse. To the left of these works about a mile, the enemy had sawmills, and a post sustained by a blockhouse, and another blockhouse and a hospital at the entrance of Lake George. Upon the right of the French lines, and between them and the old fort, there were two new blockhouses, and a considerable battery close to the water's edge."

Burgoyne has left almost the only account of the works upon Mount Independence as they were in his day. He continues his report to the king:

"It seemed that the enemy had employed their chief industry and were in greatest force upon Mount Independence, which is high and circular, and upon the summit which is table-land, were a star fort made with pickets and well supplied with artillery, and a large square of barracks within it.

"The foot of the mount which projects into the lake, was intrenched and covered with a strong abattis close to the water. This intrenchment was lined with heavy artillery pointing down the lake, flanking the water-battery above described, and sustained by another battery about half-way up the mount. . . . There was a bridge between the mount and Ticonderoga, which was also unseen."

It was no part of Burgoyne's plan to remain at Ticonderoga. He garrisoned it with one-eighth of his force. These troops consisted, in July, of one-half the 62nd English under Colonel Anstruther, and one-half the Prince Frederick regiment under Major Von Hiller. Baron Riedesel went there on July 15th to superintend the removal of the ships to Lake George. On August 9th, Brigadier Powell was ordered to relieve the commandant at Ticonderoga, taking with him the 52nd English, the 62nd going on to join Burgoyne; and on September first, two companies of the 53rd came to Ticonderoga. On September 23rd, they were joined by St. Leger's defeated force which remained at Ticonderoga until the withdrawal of the British garrison.

Burgoyne, meanwhile, went on down to put into effect his third of the triangle plan, a campaign whose failure was due

partly to Colonel John Stark who cut off a thousand of Burgoyne's men at Bennington, to Benedict Arnold at Saratoga and farther west where he helped to frighten away St. Leger's men, to Colonel John Herkimer who routed St. Leger at Oriskany, but most of all to Washington who knocked the bottom out of the triangle by refusing to march into it, and who, unable to drive Howe out of New York, pulled him out instead, across New Jersey leaving Burgoyne unreinforced and beset by American troops only too eager to be avenged for the fall of Ticonderoga.

Meanwhile the Americans were planning to regain their fortress. It had slipped out of their hands as easily as it had, the year before, fallen into them, and it might, if not retaken, serve to let in more British troops. General Lincoln had command then of the troops north of Albany, and on the thirteenth of September, he dispatched Colonel Brown of Massachusetts to undertake the capture. He was to be supported by Colonel Warner whose duty it was to take Mount Independence, and by Captain Ebenezer Allen with a party of rangers who was to take Mount Defiance. Colonel Woodbridge with another regiment was sent against Skenesborough and Fort Anne. Colonel Brown began by capturing a number of ships, 293 British soldiers and 100 of the American prisoners taken in St. Clair's retreat. All this was at the foot of Lake George. Then, adding the released one hundred to his own force, Brown moved by night to Mount Hope two miles west of the fortress of Ticonderoga. He gained possession of it, and meanwhile, Captain Allen and his men had reached their objective on Mount Defiance and were manning the batteries there. Colonel Warner reached Mount Independence, and then for the next four days, the Americans held the position which had convinced St. Clair that Ticonderoga was untenable for his men. But despite the firing from Independence on the east and Defiance on the west, the British under General Powell held out.

A letter from Colonel Brown to General Lincoln written in the midst of the affair, gives an interesting light on the details of it:



GENERAL THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO



GENERAL JOHN STARK

“North end of Lake George landing.

thursday Sept. 10, 1777.

Sir; with great fatigue after marching all last night I arrived at this place at the break of day, after the best disposition of the men I could make, immediately began the attack, and in a few minutes carried the place. I then without any loss of time detached a considerable part of my men to the mills, where a greater number of the enemy were posted, who also were soon made prisoners, a small number of them having taken possession of a blockhouse in that vicinity were with more difficulty bro't to submission; but at a sight of a cannon they surrendered. During this season of success, Mount Defiance also fell into our hands. I have taken possession of the old French lines at Ticonderoga, and have sent a flag demanding the surrender of Ty and of mount independnce in strong and peremptory terms. I have had as yet no information of Col^o Johnson's attack on the mount. My loss of men in these several actions are not more then 3 or 4 killed and 5 wounded, the enemy's loss is less. I find myself in possession of 293 prisoners, viz. captains, 9 subs. 2 commissaries non Commissioned officers and privates 143. British 119, Canadians 18 artificers, and retook more than 100 of our men, total 293, exclusive of the prisoners retaken.—The watercraft I have taken is 150 batteaus, below the falls on Lake Champlain 50 above the falls including 17 gunboats and one armed sloop arms equal to the number of prisoners. Some ammunition and many other things which I cannot now ascertain. I must not forget to mention a few cannon which may be of great service to us. Tho my success has hitherto answered most sanguine expectations, I cannot promise myself great things the events of war being so dubious in their nature, but shall do my best to distress the enemy all in my power,—having regard to my retreat—There is but a small quantity of provisions at this place which I think will necessitate my retreat in case we do not carry Ty and independence—I hope you will use your utmost endeavor to give me assistance should I need in crossing the lake &c—The enemy have but a

very small force at Fort George. Their boats are on an island about 14 miles from this guarded by six companies, having artillery—I have much fear with respect to the prisoners, being obliged to send them under a small guard—I am well informed that considerable reinforcements is hourly expected at the lake under command of Sir John Johnson—This minute received General Powel's answer to my demand in these words, "The garrison intrusted to my charge I shall defend to the last."

Indeed I have little hopes of putting him to the necessity of giving it up unless by the force under Colonel Johnson. I am &c, John Brown."

Colonel Brown had predicted rightly that he would be unable to dislodge the British, though he had embarrassed them somewhat in handling their stores, and not long after, reinforcements were supplied to Powell, under General Maclean. Sir John Johnson's force stopped at Ticonderoga on their way to the relief of Burgoyne, and then with Burgoyne's surrender, the air of the place changed. Powell began at once to prepare for retreat to Canada. The way was clear. The Americans desired nothing better than to see him go. He burned the houses and barracks both at Ticonderoga and on Mount Independence, and then set forth, early in November. Captain Ebenezer Allen followed him with a regiment of Captain Herrick's and harassed the rear of the British, taking from them what supplies he could. Among these captures were more than one hundred horses, twelve yoke of oxen, three boats, and a slave woman Dinah Mattis and her child. With the common consent of all the Green Mountain Boys, Dinah and her child were set free, after which the rest of the spoils were divided among the men of the regiment. During the remainder of 1777 and from that time on, no garrison was maintained by the Americans at Ticonderoga or at Mount Independence. This was not at all a desirable situation, but several reasons for it can be traced in the papers and records of that period. It may be that the Americans doubted their ability to hold the forts with any number of



SIR JOHN BURGOYNE



BARON REIDSESEL
Commander of Hessian Troops

soldiers that could be spared from the districts actually under invasion in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. 1778 and 1779 were terrible years for the army. Washington held his little remnant together, and by force of his own greatness made it an army which fought with his own spirit when there were uniforms enough for the army to appear in.

But the line of lakes remained open through those years. We find in the "Early History of Vermont" record that in November, 1778, incursions of the enemy were made down the Champlain valley, "plundering, burning, and destroying property of every description as far south as Ticonderoga." In March, 1779, Ethan Allen wrote to General Washington asking him to grant relief to Vermont because the ice in Lake Champlain was breaking up and leaving thus a clear way for the British to come down to "annoy and massacre." There were no men to spare. A half-formed plan of sending American troops to invade Canada once more had to be given up, and the forts lay empty. Even so early as March 1778, the records of the Vermont Assembly then but newly formed, reveal that some persons "enemical to the American cause" had been carrying away old iron from Mount Independence.

In the spring of 1780, the British appeared at various places on the northern frontier of Vermont and New York. Governor Clinton of New York, aided by the militia of Vermont under Colonel Warner and Major Allen tried to check their raiding. Sir John Johnson with a force of Tories, a few regulars and some Iroquois landed at Crown Point in May of 1780. Governor Clinton at once asked aid of Vermont, and a troop of Green Mountain Boys hastened to Ticonderoga. There was no encounter for Johnson, avoiding collision, marched some of his men south and west from Crown Point and sent part of his raiding troops by way of the valley of Sacondaga, reaching the Mohawk valley where they inflicted their blow upon the New Yorkers of that section. In October of that same year, Major Carleton of the British army, came up Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga and then across to Lake George. They were not

met by any American force until they reached Fort Anne and Fort George which they captured. Vermont could give no aid this time. On October 18, 1780, we find Colonel Webster writing Governor Chittenden of Vermont:

"The enemy at Ticonderoga, to the number of seven hundred and fifty have burned Ballstown (Ballston) and are on their way to Stillwater or Fort Edward. His excellency gov. Clinton is at Albany, and requested me to inform your excellency as above, and request your assistance in order to get ahead of the enemy if possible."

Governor Chittenden replied that the militia of Vermont were still at the north watching the movements of the enemy, but that he had called for assistance from the Berkshire militia.

Indeed Vermont was, at this time in a serious plight. The Continental Congress had refused her request to be admitted to the Union as a state. She could enter only by giving her territory, her grants of land which had been in their present owners' hands for many years, to New York and New Hampshire who claimed them, and thus lose her identity. Otherwise, she was out of the United States, and despite what her soldiers had done for the cause of independence, liable to invasion by the common enemy with no right to ask for assistance, from the Continental army.

At this juncture, overtures of peace were made by the British through a Tory soldier to Ethan Allen. He promptly turned the letters over to the Continental Congress, but even then no promise of union was given. From that time on, Vermont, through a secret commission of her prominent citizens, including Governor Chittenden and both Ira and Ethan Allen, was in communication with the British. They did not take the people of the state into their confidence. Vermont men were still fighting the war in the Continental army. Colonel Seth Warner's regiment was called upon to aid New York and to guard the frontier against the British, but meanwhile, the commission received and considered without accepting them, the offers of Lieutenant General Haldimand of Canada, Major



MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM PHILLIPS



THE PAVILION, FORT TICONDEROGA, 1826

Carleton and General Barry St. Leger for England, to erect Vermont either as an independent state or as a province of Great Britain.

The Vermont commission asked time to consider, and meanwhile, showed themselves genuine Yankees by requesting a truce. To this, the British agreed. There was to be no invasion of Vermont and no passage of troops through her territory for invasion of the lower colonies. It is significant of Vermont's attitude that though it was New York's governor and congressmen who were fighting the right of Vermont to enter the union, Ethan Allen demanded that Major Carleton who was then at Ticonderoga, include New York down to the Hudson in the truce.

The presence of Carleton's men at Ticonderoga naturally alarmed the Vermont people who did not know of the negotiations, and on October 26, General Enos wrote General John Stark,

"Captain Salisbury this instant returned as a scout from the Mount (Independence) which he left last evening. He lay in sight of the enemy's works the chief part of the day. They are repairing the fortifications at Ticonderoga and have covered the long barracks. Nearly two hundred cattle were employed in drawing cannon &c from their boats. Behind the old French lines appeared a large number of smokes, where it is supposed the chief part of their army is quartered. . . . "

In a second letter of the same date, General Enos confirmed this information and added that the enemy's force was supposed to amount to nearly one thousand men. (Haldimand papers, p. 189).

On November 7, 1780, Stephen Lush wrote to Governor Clinton,

"The enemy are still at Ticonderoga, nor can we hear that they manifest an intention of continuing down lower into the country."

While the Vermonters and their generals were kept in ignorance, the game was still being watched, though not entirely

understood, by ex-General Philip Schuyler who wrote several letters to General Washington about the movements of the British at Ticonderoga and who gave it as his belief that "the Vermonters are playing a deep game."

Carleton may have been playing a "deep game" too. His stay at Ticonderoga has sometimes been considered part of the British design to draw American attention from the Hudson until Arnold should have completed his treasonable transfer of West Point. When the capture of Major Andre revealed and foiled Arnold's design, the way was not clear, as the British had expected it would be, for a force from the north to come down to Clinton's aid by way of the Hudson. It may be that Carleton combined necessity with diplomacy in letting the Vermonters believe that he turned back at Ticonderoga merely by way of keeping the promised truce.

After he left, another British force came to Ticonderoga in 1781 under General Barry St. Leger, and this time, though secret meetings between him and the Vermont commissioners were taking place at the fort, an unfortunate encounter between a Vermont scouting party and one sent out by St. Leger, almost upset the whole intricate scheme.

Sergeant Tupper of the American troops stationed at Castleton led the scouting party, and coming suddenly upon St. Leger's scouts, exchanged shots with them, and the American sergeant fell. St. Leger, fearful for the success of the annexation scheme, made the mistake of treating the matter as an unfortunate accident and apologizing to Vermont for it in an open letter. He sent home the body of Sergeant Tupper, and by the time the escorting party had reached Governor Chittenden, they had acquainted themselves with the contents of St. Leger's letter and were most indignant over the disclosure it made of friendly dealings with the British. They told the people who came out to inquire about the procession, and the procession grew. At the capital, they demanded explanations, and Ira Allen attempting to answer them diplomatically, found himself in a dangerous position. There was almost a riot, and finally, the commis-



THE KING'S GARDEN, FORT TICONDEROGA

sioners hastily forged a second letter from St. Leger minus any friendly feeling, denied the contents of the first letter and promulgated the second.

The news of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown halted the proceedings. The commissioners had stated all through their dealings with the British that they would prefer to see Vermont one of the United States, but that there seemed no hope of such an end, and that independence or becoming British were the only alternatives. Now, the commissioners told St. Leger that they feared the news from Yorktown would make the people most unwilling to deal with England with either a view to becoming a province or accepting her protection as an independent state. Consequently, about the first of November, St. Leger withdrew, and from then until the terms of peace were arranged Vermont was unaware whether the British would include her in the territory given up by Great Britain or deal further with her.

During those years, Vermont conducted her government as an independent state, and finding, in 1783 that no exception was made in the treaty's terms, to her land, but that she was simply freed from colonydom along with the rest of the American settlements, renewed her fight to be admitted as a state. New York finally agreed to settle her claims to Vermont land for the sum of \$30,000, and in 1791, she entered the Union.

St. Leger's garrison was the last ever quartered in the old fort. It had been partially destroyed in 1759 by the withdrawing French force, rebuilt by Lord Amherst in that and the following year. Then, it had fallen into some disrepair as a defensive station during the years between the French wars and the Revolution. Its guns were removed in 1775 to aid in the protection of Boston. It was refurnished with munitions that same summer by the Albany Committee of Safety, and was put into fighting trim under General Gates in the summer of 1776. The redoubts, the French lines and the blockhouses were all in repair at that time. St. Clair in his reports during the summer of 1777 states that six weeks of repairs are needed to put the fort and its surroundings into the condition necessary to meet an attack. These

repairs were not all made when Burgoyne's army menaced and captured the place.

In the fall of 1777, when General Powell's troops withdrew, they destroyed the works, though there is no record of how thorough a job they made of it. St. Leger's men undertook extensive repairs, in 1781, but again there is no record of the actual condition in which they left the place. The fact of their presence and that they withdrew without firing the fort, is evidence that it was left, at the close of the Revolution, in a condition to house a garrison. Yet, by the time that it is first mentioned in guide books or put on record after the war, it had fallen into such a state of ruin as war had not been able to produce in it. Left unguarded, it suffered at the hands of the very people whom it had long served to protect.

CHAPTER V

THE PELL FAMILY

THE connection of the Pell family with Fort Ticonderoga runs well over the century. William Ferris Pell, son of Benjamin Pell, of Pelham Manor, Westchester County, passed several times up and down Lake Champlain, and taking a fancy to the place built a house on the Lake front in 1806. He did not buy the property until 1818. It had been granted to Columbia and Union Colleges jointly in 1790, and the Colleges would probably not sell. In 1818, however, he got title to the garrison grounds consisting of a 1500 yard circle from the south-west bastion of the Fort.

In 1825 the first house was burned, and the present one erected and named the "Pavilion," after the residence of the Regent in Brighton, England. The family spent their summers here until 1839 when Archibald Pell, son of William F. was killed by the explosion of a cannon. He was firing a salute in welcome of his Father, who was arriving on the steamer from Whitehall. Mr. Pell was so affected by the death of his favorite son that he never returned to Ticonderoga. The house was used as a hotel for many years, and during the period when the Northern tour was fashionable (in the fifties, sixties and seventies) a convoy of four horse stages was used to convey travelers from the head of Lake George to the old Steamboat Landing under the Grenadiers Battery. A stop was made for lunch at the "Pavilion" and to visit the Fort. When William F. Pell took possession of the place he found the Fort in a ruinous condition, both from the ravages of time and the depredation of the country side. The old Fort proved a convenient quarry when building material was needed, and much of the cut stone from windows and doorways was removed. However, Mr. Pell did his best to

protect it, carefully fencing in the French line and the numerous redoubts. In time underbrush and trees grew up and preserved them.

The Northern Traveler, a guide book the second of edition of which was published in 1826, mentions that "Mr Pell, the proprietor of the whole Peninsula of Ticonderoga has, on the spot formerly occupied by the *King's Garden*, a fine garden, abounding in the choicest fruits and plants imported from Europe and from the celebrated nurseries of Long Island."

From 1840 to 1909 the property was managed (at long range) by various members of the family. James K. Pell, Captain John Howland Pell and Major Howland Pell, each in turn took charge. In 1909 Stephen Pell bought out the other heirs and with the aid of Mrs. Pell's father, Colonel Robert M. Thompson, proceeded to repair the Fort and put the "Pavilion" in livable condition.

The west barracks has been made into a museum of Indian, French and Revolutionary relics and manuscripts, and the Museum Library is one of the largest and best in the country on the subject of Lake Champlain and its history. The Restoration has already gone far enough to give an excellent idea of what it was like in its years of active service, walls have been repaired and guns mounted. Further excavation and rebuilding halted by the Great War will be resumed, and in the meanwhile the old Fort, which withstood the assaults and invasion of two wars, and which has endured for almost two centuries is in its present condition, one of the most fascinating and memory-haunted monuments of American History.

Thousands of visitors visit the Fort each year, and pay tribute to the glories of the Past.

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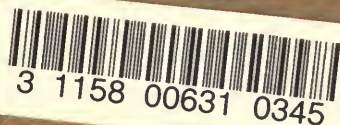
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